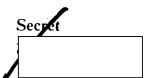


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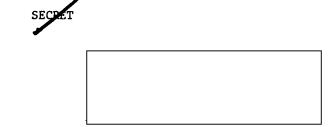
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South Korea: Park Chong Hee Revisited

Lt. Gen. Chun Doo Hwan's recent actions are reminiscent of those taken by former President Park Chong Hee in his successful ascent to power in 1961-63. After leading a coup in 1961, Park established an institutional springboard for his election to the presidency two years later by entrenching himself and other members of his group, purging "corrupt" politicians and bureaucrats, promising to amend the constitution and return power to a civilian government, neutralizing civilian political opposition, and establishing a new party to support his eventual election as President.

Special Committee for National Security Measures/ Standing Committee

Announced on 31 May, the Special Committee for National Security Measures (SCNSM) is composed of 15 ex officio members (the Prime Minister, ministers, Martial Law Commander, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and service chiefs of staff) and 11 appointed members, (10 military officers and one civilian). Although the government has justified the establishment of the SCNSM under constitutional and martial law regulations, its legal status is tenuous. It is supposed to exist only as long as there is full martial law, but its structure appears too elaborate to be temporary.

Government spokesmen have described the SCNSM as a coordinating body between the Martial Law Command and the Cabinet. Political observers believe that in practice it will bypass--and eventually supplant--the Cabinet and the National Assembly.

The Standing Committee of the SCNSM, established on 5 June to advise and handle the daily activities of the full committee, is the real source of power and authority. Chaired by General Chun, it is divided into 13 subcommittees headed by six military officers and seven civilians; it also has 16 (13 military and three civilian) appointees without portfolio. Each subcommittee will have between five and eight staff members.

Purification Campaign

The purification campaign recently launched has a twofold thrust. As an anticorruption drive against those politicians and bureaucrats who have benefited unduly from their positions, it is likely to have substantial public support. But as a move to silence criticism of the military's actions, it will probably add to the mounting discontent of the politically conscious. The focal point of the drive is the Purification Subcommittee of the newly appointed Standing Committee; the subcommittee is chaired by Kim Man Ki, a lieutenant general who is with the Korean Central Intelligence Agency and who served previously as head of the Defense Ministry's Joint Investigation Unit and as Army Provost Marshal. A press announcement on 6 June enumerated the types of misconduct leading to arrest: bribetaking, leaking classified information, and tax manipulation, as well as "easygoing attitudes and the spreading of groundless rumors." Businesses have been specifically excluded, however, to preclude economic chaos.

Constitutional Revision

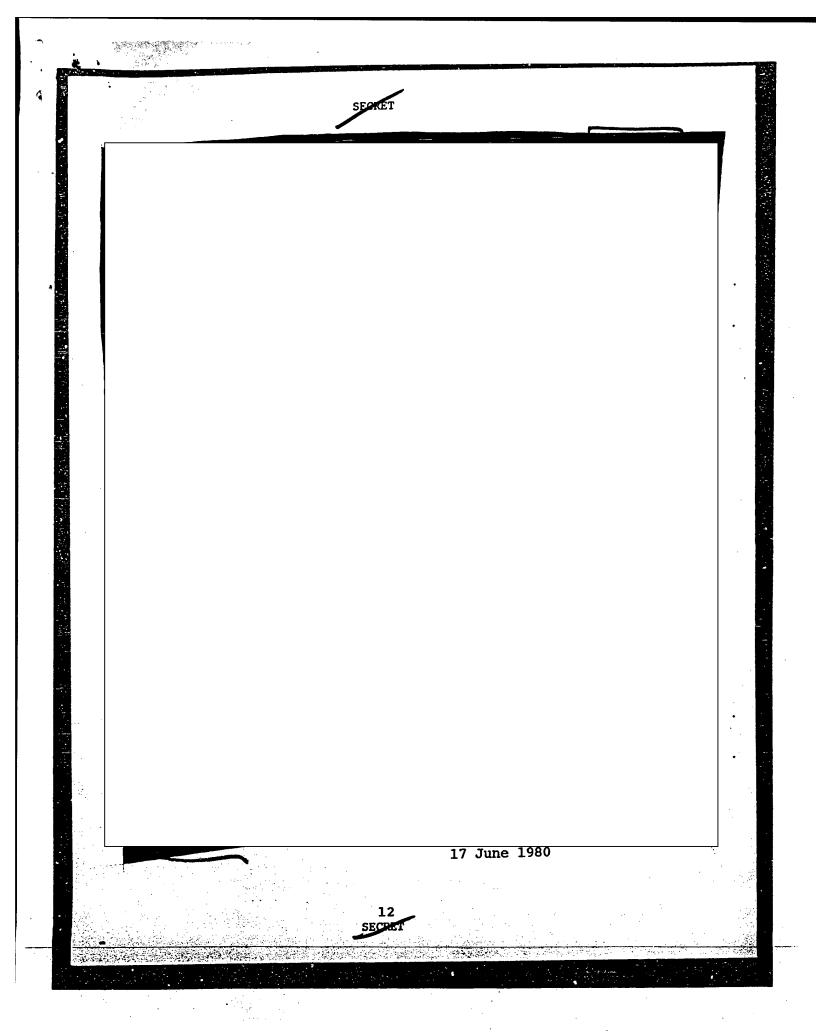
General Chun has asserted that he favors continued evolution of the political system, including formation of a new government under an amended constitution. One of the government's first announcements after the formation of the Special Committee was the resumption of work by the government's Committee for Constitutional Revision and Deliberation, organized under the Prime Minister's Office of Legislation and chaired personally by him.

Established last March, this committee has been the center of controversy between the government and the National Assembly, both of which have claimed the right to initiate a new constitution.* The government's failure to specify either the contents or timetable of its proposed version of the constitution created suspicion of its motives and led students to take to the streets in mid-May to demand acceleration of the process.

In a gesture to demands for political liberalization, the government recently announced that its draft will be ready by the end of July in preparation for a national referendum by the end of September, presidential and parliamentary elections early next year, and transfer of power to a new government by June 1981. Consultation and coordination with the National Assembly have not been officially ruled out, but the government is proceeding unilaterally. Despite its gesture on the timetable, the government remains as vague as ever on



the substance of its version. It almost certainly will bear the imprint of the military leadership's affinity for the Yusin Constitution--but with cosmetic changes for popular consumption. Neutralization of the Opposition The military leadership, which has never trusted prominent dissident leader Kim Dae Jung, began to construct a case against him early this year to prevent any possibility that he might be elected president. Since arresting Kim on 1.8 May, the Martial Law Command has publicly leveled detailed charges of sedition and pro-Communist ties against him. Kim Young Sam, president of the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP), has been treated more leniently-loose "house arrest"-



Prospects

Despite these moves to institutionalize his role, Chun will have to modify Park's scenario significantly from this point on if he is to succeed in the 1980s. Park resigned from active duty just prior to the election, joined the Democratic Republican Party, and won the Presidency by narrowly defeating his opposition opponent in an election which, by all accounts, was fair. Chun, however, does not enjoy the popularity that Park had when he initially seized power. To compensate for his lack of support, Chun may be compelled to manipulate the constitutional revision process, suppress the political opposition, and rig or otherwise guarantee the election.

CHRONOLOGY: NORTH KOREA

30 April - 6 May

An unofficial delegation from Japan led by Diet member Kuno visits North Korea. A 1978 interim agreement permitting Japanese fishing boats to enter North Korea's restricted economic sea zone is extended for two more years.

6 May

Working-level representatives from North and South Korea meet for the seventh time at Panmunjom to prepare for talks at the prine ministerial level. There is no progress, but the two sides agree to meet again on 22 May.

7-13 May

Kim Il-song attends the funeral of President Tito, traveling via the Soviet Union and returning via China (refueling stops only). In Belgrade, ne meets briefly with Soviet President Brezhnev and Chinese Premier Hua, as well as leaders of a number of other countries. Before returning home, Kim makes a four-day visit to Romania.

12 May

A US Army patrol exchanges fire with a small number of suspected North Korean infiltrators late in the evening near Panmunjom, but there are no casualties. North Korea quickly protests the incident.

14 May

KCNA, North Korea's official news agency, releases a statement criticizing Seoul's attempt on 12 May to

14 May (continued)

justify troop reinforcements in the capital area by citing the threat from the North.

15 May

A US Army patrol in the Joint Security Area again exchanges fire with suspected North Korean infiltrators; no casualties are reported.

20 May

North Korean party and public organizations issue a joint statement condemning the imposition of martial law throughout South Korea on the weekend of 17-18 May.

The Military Armistice Commission holds its 401st meeting at Panmunjom at the request of North Korea. The two sides trade accusations concerning the incidents of 12 and 15 May in the Joint Security Area.

22 May

Working-level representatives from North and South Korea meet for the eighth time to prepare for talks at the prime ministerial level. There is no progress, and North Korea suggests lengthening the interval before the next preliminary meeting to a full month due to the Cabinet shakeup in South Korea on 20-21 May. The two sides agree to meet again on 24 June.

23 May

KCNA issues a statement criticizing charges by South Korea of Communist involvement in the disturbances in Kwangju and Seoul's linkage of Kim Dae Jung with Communist sympathizers.

24 May

South Korean police authorities report the capture of a North Korean agent in Seoul on 23 May. The report alleges that the agent had attempted to enter Kwangju to exploit the student-led rebellion.

25-26 May

Kim Il-song inspects the new industrial town of Taean southwest of Pyongyang and checks progress on the construction of a study hall in Pyongyang.

29 May

Two days after South Korean troops retake Kwangju, the North Korean party daily, Nodong Sinmun, pays "high tribute" to the people of Kwangju for their resistance and predicts a second and a third Kwangju "sooner or later."

30 May

The publishing house of the Korean Workers Party announces the publication of a five-volume history of Kim Il-song's exploits during the anti-Japanese resistance from 1926-45. The work is said to be based on the remembrances of a number of Kim's partisan associates, including most of the party elite.

3 June

North Korean public organizations issue a joint statement criticizing South Korea's establishment on 31 May of the Special Committee for National Security Measures and the release on the same day of a report by the Martial Law Command on the insurrection in Kwangju.